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ing partially or wholly by other carriers," Tipton says.

In addition, the United States should give SAS credit for "bona fide stopovers as being equal to 10 percent of their third and fourth freedom traffic. This generous allowance results in a figure 24 percent greater than the number of SAS 72-hour stopovers." SAS should also be allowed 80 percent of its total traffic for intermediate and transiting fifth freedom passengers, says the ATA, "even though such traffic of the U.S.-flag airlines on comparable transatlantic sectors probably comprises less than 5 percent of their total."

This proposed SAS limitation, says Tipton, was intended to suggest that either 70 or 80 percent is the correct figure for world application. There is no such magic number. We only say that these figures are reasonable for the sectors under discussion. Tipton also points out that "it is extremely important to recognize the marked seasonal peaks and valleys of the transatlantic market, i.e., to have one set of figures and conclusions for the one season and another for the off season."

The importance of the United States-Scandinavian talks is emphasized by Tipton. From the airline standpoint, this is the first capacity consultation undertaken by our Government; the degree to which it is successful is certain to influence the attitude of our Government officials toward similar consultations which must be held in the near future with the other countries which are also major violators of the Bermuda capacity principles," he told CAB Chairman Whitney Gilliland last week.

It must be recognized that the Scandinavians will use every instrument of propaganda and political resistance at their command. As in the case of Dutch propaganda, the Scandinavians are trying to strengthen their position by claiming publicly that the U.S.-flag airlines are seeking to drive them out of the Atlantic. We trust that the officials of our Government at all levels are convinced that the opposite is true. Our carriers are not opposing the right of the Scandinavians to compete on equal terms for the traffic between the United States and Scandinavia.

It is the Scandinavians and other fifth freedom operators with low wage costs who would be pleased to drive the high-wage cost U.S.-flag operators off the international air routes—or at least to bring about such a heavy burden of subsidy on the American taxpayers as to weaken U.S.-flag efforts. Still worse, their continued assertion of their demand to operate untrammelled by the Bermuda capacity provisions simply puts the U.S. Government in the position of knowingly violating its obligations to its other bilateral partners who have a primary entitlement, with the United States, to the traffic between the United States and these other countries."

FREEDOM COMMISSION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1689) to create the Freedom Commission for the development of the science of counteraction to the world Communist conspiracy for the training and development of leaders in a total political war.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on last Friday I called the attention of the Senate to the Freedom Commission bill which we are now considering, S. 1689. I expressed the hope then that, despite the brief time which remains to us, it would be possible to bring the measure to the floor for consideration.

I said I was confident that if the bill could be brought to a vote it would receive a great deal of support in the Sen-

ate. I joined my colleague the distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MURKIN] in the belief that once the Senate had acted on the measure the House would promptly take parallel action.

It is encouraging that the majority leader, who is confronted with so many competing demands from so many sides, has nevertheless decided to bring the Freedom Commission bill before the Senate today. His action in doing so is a tribute to his vision and to the bipartisan spirit which he has always manifested on basic issues of foreign policy.

The Freedom Commission bill seeks to rectify what many of us consider to be the gravest deficiency in our national defense.

There are some who say that if we wish to be secure we must be prepared to spend more for defense purposes—and I agree with this view.

There are others who say that if we are to react intelligently to the Communist menace we must improve our policy-planning machinery—and I agree with that view.

And there are still others who say that if we wish to compete with our Communist opponents for the minds of our people we must improve our society and grant the full measure of liberty to all Americans—and I agree. I am in most hearty agreement with all these views.

However, Mr. President, we could do all of these things and still lose the cold war—if we fail to recognize the total nature of the cold war, if we continue to fight it as amateurs against professionals, if we fail to give the representatives of the free world the same kind of intensive, broad spectrum training which the Kremlin provides for its adherents in every part of the world where it is still seeking to obtain power.

When I addressed the Senate last Friday I referred to the successes the Communists have had in such countries as Cuba, Iraq, Japan, and Guinea, and I pointed out that in every case these successes could be traced back principally to two things.

First of all, the Communists have learned the art of total warfare. They have learned how to combine the political, the economic, the psychological, the organizational, and the cultural into a single, integrated strategy of conflict.

Second, the Communists maintain scores of specialized training establishments, where they learn the art of total political warfare to revolutionary recruits from all parts of the world.

So long as the Communists have this advantage in strategic understanding, in training, and in organization, the free world will be helpless against them.

We could make no more fatal mistake than to underestimate the power of a single Communist professional schooled in the tactics and strategy of this version.

Among the special forces men whom Castro and Guevara led in the mountains, no more than a few score, probably less than a score, were Mexican-trained Communists. But that handful of trained men were able to spark a popular revolution and to give the Kremlin effective control in Cuba, and in American missionaries and in the CIA.

Which broke out throughout that country immediately. Independence was declared was too well organized and too well synchronized to have been accidental or spontaneous. No precise arithmetical estimate may ever be available to us. However, I am convinced that in a country like the Congo, 50 trained agitators, distributed at key posts, would be quite capable of turning over the entire country to rape, mayhem, and chaos.

In his remarks before the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Detroit last February 22, Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, made some profound observations. I shall quote a few paragraphs:

Maybe many people in this country will be taught a new lesson in communism because Khrushchev, right at our doorstep, is applying his methods and techniques. He is perverting a revolutionary movement which initially had the support of some estimable people but which now is in the throes of a Communist takeover. Cuba is not the only country, though it is the one nearest to us, where such a process is underway.

Are we alerted fully to this kind of danger, and are we prepared to do all that we can to see that this development does not occur in a dozen or more countries elsewhere in the world?

This, today, is the major element of the Soviet scheme for world domination. We must understand it. We must analyze it and through a well coordinated program of education and of action, protect ourselves against it.

Mr. President, in my judgment, the free world does not lack dedication. Of this I am utterly convinced. Nevertheless, so long as we have not developed the science of counteraction to the Communist conspiracy, so long as we do not have cold war professionals who have received intensive training in this science, just so long shall we remain helpless to cope with situations like those which exist in Cuba and the Congo.

The purpose of the Freedom Academy, under the Freedom Commission, is to fill, or attempt to fill, this gap in our defenses. By bringing together under one roof the best brains we have in our country for this purpose we shall be creating the kind of research facilities which have made possible our nuclear development program and our space exploration. In these fields we brought together the best talent available and put them to work, we provided them with facilities and equipment with which to work, and they have been and are producing results that could never have been achieved without a concentration of brains and effort.

At the same time as they engaged in the basic task of research, the Freedom Academy people would impart their knowledge and understanding to Americans and to the nationals of other free countries who come to the Academy for special training.

Mr. President, think how important that can be.

We must never permit ourselves to become fatalists about Communist progress. If we ever become fatalists about Communist progress, we shall be lost. The Communists can be defeated. As I said on Friday, it is not enough to say